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A SHORT
VIEWV OF THE

Long Life and Raigne of
HENRY the Third, King
of ENGLAND.

Presented to King IAMES.

Printed. clō lb cxxvii.

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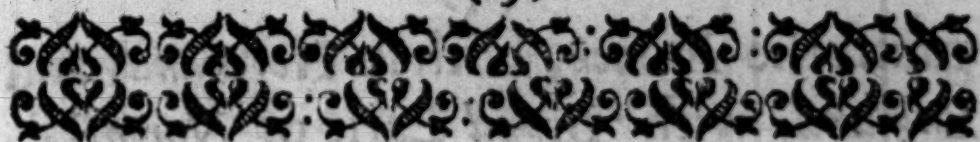
Long Life and Reign of

HENRY the Third, King

of ENGLAND.

Presented to King JAMES.

Printed by C. B. C. & Co.



A Short view of the long Raigne of
Henry the third.

WEaried with the lingring calamities of Ciuill Armes, and afrighted at the sudden fall of a licentious Soueraigne, all men stood at gaze expecting the euent of their long desires (Peace) and issue of their new hopes (Benefit.) For in euery shift of Princes there are few either so meane or modest that please not themselues with some probable object of preferment. To satisfie all, a child ascendeth the throne, mild and gracious, but easie of nature, whose Innocency and naturall goodnesse led him safe along the various daungers of his fathers Raigne: Happy was hee in his Vnkle the Earle of *Pembrook*, the guide of his infancy, and no lesse then for thirty yeares after whilst *De Burgo*, that fast seruant of his Fathers against

Hist. minor.
Math. Paris.

gainst the *French*, both in *Normandy* and *England* with *Bygod* Earle of *Norfolke* and others oflike grauity and experience did manage the Affaires. Few and no other were the distempers then in State, but such as are incident to all, the Commons greedy of liberty, and the Nobility of Rule, and but one violent storme raised by some old and constant followers of his Father, *Fulco de Brent de Fortibus* and others, men that could onely thriue by the warres, misliking those dayes of sloath: (for so they termed that calme of King *Henries* gouernement;) and the rather because the iustice of duet times vrged from them to the lawfull owners, such Lands and Castles as the fury of war had vniustly giuen them, for finding in the vprightnesse of the King, that power of protection should not be made a wrong doer, they fell out into that rebellion, that with it, ended their liues and competitors; professing that those their swords that had set the Crown vpon their Soueraignes head

Math. Paris.
Hist. maior.

Hist. Sancti.
Albani.

(5)

head, when neither Maieſtie nor Lawe could, ſhould now ſecure thoſe ſmall pittances to their Maiſters, when Maieſty or Lawe would not. Dangerous are too great benifits of Subjects to their Princes, when it maketh the mind only capable of merrit, nothing of duty. No other diſquiet did the ſtate after this feele, but ſuch as is incident in all, the mallice to Authority: Good and great men may ſecure themſelves from guilt, but not from enuy: for the greateſt in truſt of publicke affaires are ſtill ſhot at by the aspiring of thoſe that deeme themſelves leſſe in employment then they are in merrit. Theſe vapours did euer and eaſily vaniſh ſo long as the helme was guided by temperate ſpirrits, and the King tied his Actions to the rule of good Councell, and not to young paſſionate or ſingle aduiſe.

Thirty yeares now paſſed, and all the old guides of his youth now dead, but *de Burgo*, (a man in whom nothing of worth was wanting but moderation,) whose length

a iij

of

Chro. de Duſt
Ioan. de VVal-
lingford.

of dayes giuing him the aduantage of sole power, his owne Ambition and Age gaue him desire, and Art, to keepe out others, which wrought him into the fatal enuy of most, and that encreased in the Title of Earle, & great Offices the King then gaue him. *Time* by this, had wrought, as in it selfe, so in the hearts of the people, a Reuolution, the afflictions of their fathers forgotten, and the supfeit of long peace; perchance hauing let in some abuses, from hence, the Commons to whom dayes present seeme euer worst, commend the foregone ages they neuer remembred, and condemne the present, though they knew neither the disease thereof, nor the remedy.

Chron. de Litch
field.

To these idle and vsuall humors, fell in some of the young and noble spirits, warme and over-weaning (who being as truly ignorant as the rest) first by fallying the wisdom of the present and greatest rulers, (making each casuall mishap their Errors:) seeme to decypher euery
ble.

blemish in Government, and then by holding certayne imaginary and fantasticke formes of Common-wealths, flatter their owne beleefe and ability, that they can mold any State, to these generall rules, which in particular application will proue idle and grosse absurdities.

Next confirmed in their owne worth by *Sommery* and *Spencer*, they take it a *Gual. de Couen.* fitt time to worke themselves into action, and imployment, a thing they had long desired, and now (though vnwilling to seeme so) doe sue for, and doubtlesse the furthest of their ayme was yet, to become quiet instruments in serving the State, if they had beene then held fit and worthy.

But the King taught by the new Earle, That *Confilia senum hastas juvenum esse*; and that such wits, (for so they would be stiled) were *Nouandis quam gerendis rebus aptiores*, fitter in being factious to disorder, then to settle affayres, eyther denyed or delayed their desires; for wise Princes will ever choose their Instruments *Par negotijs*, and
not

not *supra*, Creatures out of meere election, that are onely theirs, otherwise, without friends or power.

Math. Paris.
Hist. minor.

Amongst this vnequal medly, there were of the Nobility, *Richard* Earle of *Pembrook*, *Glocester*, and *Hartford*, darlings of the multitude; some for the meritt of their Fathers; whose memories they held Sacred, as Pillars of publike liberty and opposers of encroaching Monarchy: at *Ru-*
nemeed the Armies met. And of the

Cron. Petri Pe-
tavian.

Gentry, *Fitz-Geffeory*, *Bardolph*, *Grisley*, *Maunfell* and *Fitz Iohn*, spirits of as much Acrimony and Arrogant spleene, as the places from whence they were elected Campe, Court, or Countrey, could afford any: These by force would effect what the other did affect by cunning; but all impatient, to see their ends thus frustrate, and that so long as the King followed the direction of the Earle of *Kent*, they had small hope of their desires, they made often meetings; and as one sayth of them, *Clam & nocturnis colloquiis aut*

Math. Paris.

flexum

flexum in vesperum die.

In the end, *Sommery* and *Spencer*, two that were farre in opinion with the rest, Gentle-men, by Forraine education and imployment, more quallified then vsually men of these Times; and that set vppon their owne deserts, the best places when the Streame should turne, (which one of them, *Spencer*, did vnworthily obtayne, for he dyed in actuall Rebellion, *Iusticiarius Anglie*, against his master) advised that the best meanes to remooue that great and good obstacle, the Earle of *Kent*, out of the way of their advancement, was by sitting into his actions, and siding with his opposite, *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, (an ill man, but gracious with the King) making still their ends, that the worthiest beeing driuen out by the worst, they shalleyther be able to mate him with his owne vice, which will bee euer more visible, as hee is more potent, and so remooue him at pleasure; or else giue over the King to such Ministers, to their bad

Cicero in Cattel-
line Orat. prima.

desires, as loosing him the hearts of his people, might smoothe them away to their bad desires, *Honores quos quieta Reipublica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur.* Thus Counsell heard, approoued and put in practise, the corrupt and ambitious Bishop is easily insnared to their part, by mony and opinion, of encrease of power.

Lib. Bermondsey
Vita abbatis sancti
albari.

Articles are in all hast forged, and vrged against the Earle, as sale of Crowne land; wast of the Kings Treasure; and lastly, (that which these doubtfull times held capitall) his giuing allowance to any thing that might breed a rupture between the Soueraigne and the Subiects, as hee had done in making way with the King, to annihilate all Patents granted in his nonage, and enforced the subiect to pay

Lib. Bermondsey
vita abbatis sancti
albari.

as the Record sayth, *Non iuxta singulorum facultatem, sed quicquid Iusticiarius estimabat.*

Well? hee cleared himselfe of all, but the last, and did worthily perish by it; for

for acts that fill Princes Coffers, are euer the ruines of their first Inventors; bad times corrupt good Councells, and make the best Ministers, yeelde to the lust of Princes, therefore this King cannot passe blamelesse, that would so easily blemish all former meritts, of so good a seruant, for that wherein himselfe was chiefe in fault.

But Princes natures are more variable, and sooner cloyd then others, more transitory their fauours, and as their mindes are large, so they easily ouer-looke their first election, tying their affections, no further then their owne satisfactions.

The Bishop now alone manageth the State; chooseth his chiefe Instrument, *Peter De Rinallis*, a man like himselfe, displaceth his natiues, and draweth *Po-
ritions* and *Brittons* into Offices of best trust, and benefit; and the King into an euill opinion of his people. For nothing is more against the nature of the English, then to haue strangers rule ouer them, of

this mans time, *Wendouer*, an Author then
 liuing, sayth, *Iudicia committuntur in iustis*
Leges ex legibus Pax discordantibus iusti-
tia iniuriis. Thus the plot of the
 tumultuous Barons went cleare, and
 had not the discreeter Bishops calmed all
 by dutifull perswasions, and informing
 the King that the support of this bold
 mans power (whose carriage before had
 lost his Father, *Normandy* the loue of his
 people, and in that his Crowne) would
 by teaching the sonne to reject in passion
 the just petitions of his loyall Subjects,
 (as of late the Earle of *Pembroke* his Earle
 Marshall of *England* the due of his Office)
 driue all the State into discontent by his
 bad advise, and corrupt manners; doubt-
 lesse the rebellious Lords had ended this
 distemper, as their designe was, in a ciuill
 Warre.

Denials from Princes must bee supply-
 ed with gracious vsage, that though they
 cure not the sore, yet they may abate the
 fence of it; but best it is, that all fauours
 come

Regis Roffen.

Annalis de Ely.

come directly from themselves; denials
and things of bitterness from their Mi-
nisters.

Thus are the strangers all displaced and
banished, *Rivallis* extortions ranfackt, by
many strict Commissions of enquiry; the
Bishop sent away disgraced, finds now that
Nulla qua sita scelere potentia diuturna; and
that in Princes favours there is no substi-
stance betweene the highest of all, and
precipitation. The Lords still frustrate of
their malicious ends, beganne to sow
of these late grounds of the peoples dis-
content, *Querelas & ambiguos de principe*
sermones & quæq; alia turbamenta vulgi, and
tooke it vp a fashion to endear and glori-
fie themselves with the sencelesse multi-
tude, by depraving the Kings discretion,
and Governement, whose nature too
gentle for such insolent spirits, was for-
ced (as *Treuet sayth*) to seeke as he present-
ly did, advise and loue amongst strangers,
seeing no desert could purchase it at home,
all bore themselves like Tutors and Con-
trollers,

Claus. anno 37
H. 3. M. 26.
Chron. Hall.

trollers, few like subjects and Councellours. God wee see holdeth the hearts of Princes, and sendeth them such Councellors as the quality of the subiect merriteth.

Chron. Litchf.

Math. Paris.
Roger VVendouer.

For *Mountford* a *French-man* became the next Obiect of the Kings Delight, a Gentle-man of choyce blood, education, and feature, on this mans content, the heady affection of the Soveraigne did so much Doate, that at his first entrance of Grace, in enuy of the Nobility, hee made him Earle of *Leicester*; and in no lesse offence of the Cleargy, by violating the rites of the holy Church, gaue him his vowed, vailed, sister to wife. More of Arte then vsually some haue deemed this act of the Kings, making the tye of his dependancy, the strength of his assurance, so both at his will.

Chron. Ioan.
Sulgrave.

Mountford made wanton thus with dalliance of his Maister, forgetteth moderation, for seldome discretion in youth attendeth great and suddaine fortunes, hee draweth all publike affayres into his owne hands

hands, all fauours must passe from him, all preferments by him, all suites addres-
sed to him, the King but as a cypher set
to adde to this figure, the more of number.
Great is the Soueraignes error, when the
hope of subiects must recognize it selfe
bee holden to the seruant, which ought
immediately to bee acknowledged, from
the goodnesse and good election of him-
selfe: Though Princes may take aboue
others some reposefull friend, with whom
they may participate their neereft passions;
yet ought they so to temper the affayres of
their fauour, that they corrupt not the
effects of their principallities.

At this the great and grauest men began
to grieue, knowing the vnworthy with-
out honour, or meritt, thus to deale a-
lone in that which should passe through
their hands, and to leape ouer all their
heads, to the greatest Honour and Offices,
and therefore runne along with the then
rising grace of the Kings halfe brethren,
(though strangers) hoping thereby to
deuide

deuide that power, which otherwise they
saw impossible to breake.

Chron. Reading.

Leicester confident of his Maisters loue,
and impatient to beare eyther riual in fa-
uour, or partner in rule, opposeth them all,
but findeth in his ebbe of fauour, the For-
tune of others, and that this King could
euer as easily transferre his fancy as he had
setled his affection. Great we see must be
the arte and cunning of that man, that
keepe himselfe a floate in the streame of
Soueraignes fauour, since the change of
Princes wils, which for the most part are
full of fancy and soone satiate are hardly ar-
rested: Who so would effect this, must on-
ly attend the honour and seruice of his
Maister, and dispoyled of all other re-
spects, transforme himselfe into his in-
ward inclination and worke into necessi-
ty of employment, by vndergoing the Of-
fices of most secrecy, eyther of publicke
seruice, or princes pleasures, he must al-
so beate downe Competitors of worth by
the hands of others, (conceale his owne)
greatnesse

greatnes in publicke, with a fained humi-
lity, and what impotency or gouernment
he affecteth, let it rather seeme the worke
of others, out of conueniency, then any
appetite of his owne.

Now were the raynes of rule, by this
advantage, taken by the rebellious Lords,
and put alone into the hands of the Kings
halfe brethren: *Adam, Guido, Godfray, and
William*, himselfe as before, *Et magna For-
tuna licentiam tantum vsurpans*: For to act
his owne part, hee was ever wyer. drawne
when hee had such worthy servants as
would often for his Honour vrge it. For
these Masters (*as Willingford termeth them*)
*Tanta elati jaētantia quod nec superiorem sibi
intelligunt, nec parem mollitis & mollitis adu-
lationibus animum Regis pro libito voluntutis
& ratione tramite declinantes*, do alone what
they list. They fill vp the place of Iustice
and Trust, with their Country-men, stran-
gers, exact of whom, how and what they
they please; waste the Treasure and Crown
Lands on themselves, and their followers,

Hen. Knighton
Mon. Leicest.

Wil. de Risham

807.

*Monastery**Ramsay.**Lib. Monastery**Ramsay.*

set prices on all offices, and rayne the Lawe within the rule of their owne Brests. The vsuall reply of their seruants, to the playnts of the Kings subjects, beeing *Quis tibi rectum faciet? Dominus rex vult; quod Dominus meus vult*; these strangers seemed in their Lawlesse carriage not to haue bin inuited, but to haue entred the state by Conquest: The great men they enforced not to obey, but to serue, and the meane to liue so as they might justly say, they had nothing, yet least the King should heare the groanes of his people, and the wickednesse of his Ministers, which good and able men would tell him, they barre all such acceffe: Suspition beeing the best preferuer of her owne defects, aymeth at these, who hath more of vertue then themselves, as fearing them most. Thus is the incapacity of government in a King, when it falls to bee prey to such Lawlesse Minions, the ground of infinite corruption in all the members of the State, all take

take warrant generally from Prin-
ces weakenesses, of licencious liberty,
and greatnesse makes profit parti-
cularly by it, and therefore giue
way to encrease ill, to encrease their
gaynes.

A Famine accompanieth these cor-
ruptions, and that so violent, that
the King is enforced to direct Writes
to all the Shires, *Ad pauperes mortuos
sepeliendos famis media deficientes*: Famine
proceedes, *Fames præcessit & secutus est
gladius tam terribilis ut nemo inermis secure
possit, provincias peruagare*: For all the
Villages of the Kingdome were left a
prey to the Lawlesse Multitude: Who
*Per diuersas partes itinerantes velut per
Consensum aliorum*, (as the Record sayth)
did imply that the factious Lords sus-
pected by the King, had giuen some heat
to that commotion Seditious Peeres
bringing euer fewell to such popular
fires.

Claus. anno 43
Hen. 3.

Chron. London.

c. ii

Neyther

Wilde Rishanger

Neyther was the Church without a busie part in this Tragicke worke for *Walter* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Robert* of *Lincolne*, to whom *Mountford* and his faction, *Præcordialiter aaherebant* were farre ingaged. In such designes, Church-men are neuer wanting, and the distaste of the present gouernement, (as well in the Church as in the Common-wealth) will euer bee a knot of strength for such vnquiet spirits, who aswell frame to themselves some other forme of gouernment; then the present in the Church, as in the temporall state, as that which with the giddy multitude winneth best opinion, and did at this time fitly suite the peoples humours, so much distasting the new Courts of the Clergy, their pompe, their greedines and the Popes extortions.

A fayre pretext was it to those factious Bishops, to vse their bitter pens and speeches; so farre agaynst Religious Orders, Ceremonies, and State of the Church, that one of them incurred the sentence
of

of Excommunication at Rome, and Treason at home; for hee enjoyned the Earle of Leiceſter in *Remiſſione peccatorum* ut Math. Paris. *cauſam illam* (meaning his Rebellions) *uſque ad mortem aſſumeret, aſſerens pacem* Wilhelmi Ruffanger *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ nunquam ſine gladio materiali poſſe firmari.* It was not the beſt Doctrinethat this man could plant, by liberty or warre when the firſt Church roſe by faſting and prayer.

True Pitey binds the Subiect to deſire a good Sovereaigne, but to beare with a bad one, and to take vp the burthen of Princes with a bended knee, rather in time ſo to deſerue abatement, then reſiſt authority.

Church-men therefore ought not alwayes to leade vs in the rule of Loyalty, but a knowledge of our owne duties, in difficult poynts of Religion, where an humble ignorance, is a ſafe and ſecure knowledge, wee may relye vpon them.

To ſupreſſe theſe troubles, and ſupply

Barth. Colon. the kings extremity, a Parliament was cal-
Chro. Norwic. led, much to the liking of those Lords,
Chro. Worc. who as little meant to releue the King
 as they did to acquiet the State, their
 ende at that time beeing onely to open
 at home the pouerty of their Maister,
 to lessen his reputation abroad, and
 to braue out their owne passions free-
 ly, whilst those times of liberty per-
 mit.

M. Paris. Here they began to tell him hee had
Wendouer. wronged the publicke State in taking to
 his priuate election the Iustice, Chancel-
 lour and Treasurer, that should bee onely
 by the Common Councell of the Realme,
 commending much the Bishop of *Chice-*
ster for denying deliuey of the great Scale
 but in Parliament where hee receiued
 it.

Wallingford. They blame him to haue bestowed the
Paris. best places of trust and benefit in his gift
 on strangers, and to leaue the *English* vn-
 rewarded, to haue vndone the trade of
 Mer.

Merchants by bringing in Maletools and
 heauy customes, and to haue hurt the
 common liberty by *non obstantes* in his Pa-
 rents, to make good Monopolies for pri-
 uate fauorites.

*Wil. de Rishen-
ger.*

That he hath taken from his Subiects
*quicquid habuerunt in esculentis & poculen-
 tis Rusticorum enim equos bigas vina victua-
 lia ad libitum cepit.*

*Chron. Sancti
Albani.*

That his Iudges were sent in Circuits
 vnder pretext of Iustice to fleece the peo-
 ple, *Causis fictitijs quoscunque poterant diri-
 puerunt.*

And that Sir Robert de Purslowe had
 wrung from the Borderers of his Forrest
 vnder pretence of encrochments or assarts,
 great summes of money.

And therefore they wonder that
 he should now demaund reliefe from his
 so pilld and polled Commons, who by
 their former extremities & *per auxilia*
prius data ita depauperantur vt nihil aut
parum habeant in bonis. And therefore adui-
 sed

*Gual. de Co-
mentry.*

sed him, that since his needlesse expence,
Postquam regni capit esse dilapidator, was
 summed vp by them to aboue 800000. l.
 It were fitting to pull from his fauourites,
 who had gleaned the Treasure of his
 Kingdome, and shared the olde Lands of
 the Crowne, seeing one of them there
 whom the Lords described to bee *Miles lit-*
teratus, or *Clericus militaris*, who had in
 short space from the inheritance of an acre,
 growne to the Possession of an Earledom;
 and *Manfel* another inferiour Clearke that
 (besides 50. promotions with the cure of
 foules) rose to dispend in annuall reuenue
 4000. marks, whereas more moderate Fees
 would haue become a peir-man, no better
 quallified then with the ordinary fruits of
 a Writing Schoole; yet if a moderate sup-
 ply would suite with the Kings occasions,
 they were content to performe so farre re-
 lief in Obedience, as the desert of his
 carriage should meritt toward them: And
 so as the Record sayth, *Dies datus fuit in*
tres septimanas ut interim Rex excessuos
suos

Wil. de Rishanger

Chron. Litchf.

Hist. minor.
Wil. de Rishanger

Epist. Robert
Lincolne.

Math. Paris.

suos corrigeret & Magnates voluntati ejus obtemperarent.

At which day vppon new grant of the
 great Charter, admittance to his Coun-
 cell of some persons elected by the Com-
 mons, and promise to relye vppon his
 Natiues, and not Strangers; for aduile
 hereafter; they spare him such a pittance
 as must tye him to their Devotion, for
 a new supply.

Mach. Paris.

Regis Roffen.

Iohan. de VVal-
 lingford.

Thus Parliaments that before were e-
 uer a medicine to heale vp any rupture in
 Princes fortunes, are now growne worse
 then the mallady, fith from thence more
 malignant humors beganne to raigne in
 them, then well composed tempers.

The King by this, experienced of the
 intents of his rebellious Lords, and find-
 ing that the want of Treasure was the
 way whereby they enthralled his Maiesty,
 begins now to play the good husband, clo-
 seth his hand of wast, and resolues him-
 selfe (too late) to stand alone; such expe-
 rience is pernicious to the priuate, and
 d j dan-

Chron de Leic.

dangerous to the publique good of a state, when it neuer learns to doe, but by vndoing, and neuer sees order, but when disorder shewes it. Yet still alas, such was his flexibillity when hee came to bee pressed by his *French* Minions, that hee could not hold his hand any longer, from their vaste desires, and endlesse waste. So that an Author then liuing, sayth, it became a by word, *our Inheritance is conuerted to Aliens, and our Houses to Strangers.* Followers to a King excessiue in gifts, are excessiue in demaunds, and cut them not out by reason, but by example: Favours past are not accompted, wee loue no bounty but what is meerely future, the more that a Prince weakeneth himselfe in giuing, the poorer he is of friends: For such prodigallity in a Soueraigne, euer ends in the rapine and spoyle of his subjects.

Yet before the King would agayne submit himselfe, as hee had the last Parliament, to so many braues and strict inquiries

quires of his disloyall subiects, he me-
 neth to passe through all the shifts, that
 extreame of neede, with greatnesse of
 minde could lay vppon him. He begin- Claus. anno 46.
 & 47. Henry 3.
 neth first with sale of Lands, and then
 of Iewells, pawneth *Gascoyne*, and after
 that, his Imperiall Crowne; and when
 hee had neyther credit to borrow, (ha-
 uing so often fayled, the trust hee had
 made,) nor pawnes of his owne, hee Claus. anno 37.
 Henry 3.
 then layeth to pawne the Iewells and Or-
 naments of *St. Edwards Shrine*; and in the
 end, not hauing meanes to defray the
 dyet of his Court, was enforced to breake
 vp House, (and as *Paris* sayth) with his
 Queene and Children, *Cum Abbatibus &*
Prioribus satis humiliter Hospitia quæ fuit &
prandia.

This low ebbe which agayne the Kings
 improvidence had brought him to, gaue
 great assurance to the Rebellious Lords,
 that they should now at the last, haue
 the Soueraigne power, left a prey to their
 ambitious

ambitious designes, and to bring it faster on, they desire nothing more, then to see the Kings extremitie: Constrayne a Parliament, for at such times, Princes are euer lesse then they should be, subiects more.

Wil. de Rishanger.

To hasten on the time, and adapt the the meanes, there are sowne certayne seditious rumors, that the Kings necessity must repayre it selfe vppon the fortunes and blessings of his people, that hauing nothing of his owne left, hee might and meant to take of others: For Kings may not want, as long as the Subiects haue meanes to supplye.

This tooke fire just to their mindes, and wrought a little moouing in the State, which doubtlesse had flamed higher, if the King had not asswaged it by Proclamations, wherein hee declared

Quod quidam malignoli sinistra predicantes, illis falso suggererant illum velle eos indubite gravari, ac jura & libertatos Regni
sub.

Clau. anno 49
lib. 3.

subuertere, & per suggestiones illas dolosas, & omnia falsas eorum corda a sua mali dictione, & fidelitate auerterent, but desireth, that Huiusmodi animorum suorum perturbationibus ne finem adhiberent, for that hee was euer ready to defend them from the oppression of the great Lords, Et omnia iura & Consuetudinis eorum debitas bonas, & Consuetas, in omnibus & per omnia plenius obseruare, and that they may rest of this secure: De voluntate sua libera, litteras suas fecit patentes. But seeing still that Maiesty and right subsist not without meanes and power, and himselfe had of neyther, so much as would stop the present breach in his owne wants, or his subiects loyalties, hee flyeth to the bosome of his people, for reliefe and Councell.

At Oxford they met in Parliament, *Parl. Oxon.* where his necessity, met so many vndutifull demaunds, that he was forced to render vp to their Rebellious will, his Royall power.

Math. Paris.

Chro. Worc.

Chron. Litchf.

Heere the Commons knowing that, *Quum eligere inceperunt*, they were *Loco libertatis*, stood with the King to haue the managing of the State, put to the care of twenty foure, whereof twelue by their election, (whereto they looke strictly) and the other by him, who in all things else, was left a Cypher, and in this, whether by feare, or remissenes, filled vp his number with *Mountford*, *Glocester*. and *Spencer*, which besides the weakening of his owne part, wonne to those his late opposites, an opinion of great interest they had got in his fauour, hee now hath left neyther election of publicke office, nor priuate attendants, his halfe brethren and their followers, he must dispoyle of all fortune, and exile by prescription vnder his owne hand, commaunding his Writs, *Pro transportatione fratrum suorum*, to bee directed to the Earles of *Hartford* and *Surrey*, and not to passe cyther their Money, Armes, or Ornaments, *Nisi in forma quam dicti Committes*

mittes iniunxerent, and after their departure
 enjoyned the men of *Bristol*, that they should not permit any strangers, *Siue*
propinquos Regis applicare in portu, but so
 to behaue themselves therein, that as
 well the King, *Quam Magnates sui eos*
merito debeant commendare.

Claus. anno 49
 Hen. 3.

Thus wee see how easily mens estates
 doe change in a moment, and how
 hard it is to make vse of things ill got-
 ten.

Richard Elect of the Empire, the Kings
 full Brother, and then beyond Sea, must
 bee wrought by Letter, as his free desire
 to confirme by Oath those former restri-
 ctions of regall power, which though
 performed, yet would the Lords suffer
 neyther the one or the other, to enter
Douer Castle (the Key of the Kingdome)
 which they had furnished, as most of
 the other Fortes of reputation in the
 Realme with Guardians of their owne,
 sworne respectiuely to the State; and then
 taking the like assurance of al the Shrieffes,
 Bayliffes,

Chron. Sancti
 Albani.

Reg. Rossen.

Allegor

*Rot. in Scris.**Wil. de Risban-
ger.*

Bayliffes, Coroners, and other publicke Ministers, searching the behauour of many by strict Commission vppon oath, to winne opinion in shewe among the Vulgar, who groaned vnder their late Extortions, whereas their end was truly, as it after prooued, by displacing the faythfull Seruants of the King, to open away, to their owne dependants.

Thus changing sole power into the rule of many, and those by popular election, made the State belecue, that this forme of limitted pollicy, they had vtterly suppressed the minde of man, for euer dreaming more vppon the imagiuary humours of lycencious Soueraignty: But it fell out nothing so, for now euerie man beganne to estimate his owne worth, and to hammer his head on euerie designe, that might enlarge his power and commaund.

Then beganne the great men to rent grom the bopy of the Crownes, and
regall

regall signiories, all such royall suitors as
 neighboured any of their owne seats,
 whereto they enforce their seruice, and so ^{Scacar.}
 (as the Record sayth) *Ad sectas indebitas,*
& seruitutes intollerabiles subditos Regis
compulerunt: Thus rayfing meane man-
 ners to become great Honours, and ren-
 ting asunder the regall Iustice, they made
 themselves of so many subiects whilst
 they liued in dury, *Totidem Tiranni* (as the
 Booke of Saint *Albans* sayth) when they
 had left their loyalty, *Magnas induxerunt* <sup>Rot. Regis in
Scaca. 56 H. 3</sup>
Magnates Regni, super subditos Regis serui-
tutes & oppressiones, which they bore pa-
 tiently; for excesse of misery hauing no
 ease but Custome, made men willing to
 lay the foundation of seruitude by the
 length of sufferance, which found no
 ease nor end, vntill the quiet of this Kings
 Reigne.

Mountford, Gloucester and Dispencer, ^{Wallingford.}
 the Heads of this Rebellious designe,
 hauing by the late prouisions drawne to
 the hands of the twenty foure *Tribunes*
 c j of

of the people, the entire managing of the Royall State, and finding that power too much disperced to worke the end of their desires, forst agayne the King to call a Parliament, where they deliuered ouer the authority of the twenty foure vnto themselues, and Create a *Triumvirate, non Constituenda Republicæ causa*, as they first pretended, for their owne endes, and so in the interest of some priuate contented, the publicke was stayed; but to make a speedier way to one of them as it fatally did, to become *Dictator perpetuus*: Ambition is neuer so high, but she thinkes still to mount, that station which seemed lately the toppe, is but a steppe to her now, and what before was great in desiring, seemes little, being once in power.

Wil. de Rishanger.

Chro. de Dunst.

*Ordinat. inter
Reg: Lond.*

These three elect nine Councillours, and appoynt *Quod tres ad minus alternatim semper in curia sint*, to dispose of the custody of Castles, & *de alijs Regni negotijs*, the chiefe Iustice, Chancellour and Treasurer,

furer with all Offices, *Maiores & minores*,
 they reserve the choyce of to themselves,
 and bind the King to this hard bargayne
 vppon such strong security; that hee is
 contented vnder the great Seale, and
 Oath, to loose to them the knot of Regall
 duty, whensoever hee assumeth to him-
 selfe his Regall dignity, *Liceat omnibus* chran. Origine
de Regno nostro contra nos, insurgere & ad sub sigilla.
grauamen nostrum opem & operam dare ac
si nobis in nullo tenerentur. This prodigy
 of fortune on whom she had set a pittifull
 example of her inconstancy, finding no
 part of his Sovereignty left, but the bare
 Title, and that at their leaue, beggeth suc-
 cour from *Vrbane the fourth*, agaynst his
 disloyall subiects.

The Pope by his Bul cancelleth his Oath,
 and contract, and armeth him with Ex-
 communications agaynst all those that
 returne not with speede, to their due and
 old Obedience, since promises made by
 men, which cannot say they are at liberty,
 are weake, and force hath no power
 to make iust interest.

Chron. Litch.
Wil. de Risban-
ger.

Chron. Breſtanie.

Chron. Duſt.

The Lords on the other ſide that had
imped their winges with Eagles fea-
thers, and liked no game now, but what
was raked out of the aſhes of Monarchy,
made head againſt their Sovereigne, and
to mate him the better, called in ayde, ſome
French forces: Thus the Common-wealth
turned agayne her ſword into her owne
bowells, and invited her ancient enemy,
to the funerall of her liberty; ſo that it was
a wonder ſhe ſhould not at this time paſſe
vnder a forrayne ſervitude. And though
theſe men were more truly ſenſible of
their owne diſgrace, then of others mil-
ery: Yet found they no better pretext for
priuate intereſt then that of the pub-
licke.

And therefore at the entry of this war,
they cryed liberty, although when they
came neere to an end, they neuer ſpake
word of it.

Wil. de Riſbager.

At *Lewis* the Armies met, where the
King endeauours a reconciliation, but in
vayne, for perſwaſions are euer vnpro-
fitable, when Juſtice is inferiour to force.

The

The sword decides the difference, and gaue the two Kings, and their eldest Sonnes Prisoners : The person now aswel as the regall power ; thus in the hands of *Mountford* and *Glocester*, found neyther bond of security, nor expectation of liberty, but what the emulous competition of greatnesse (which now beganne to break out betweene these mighty Riuals,) gaue hope of, for *Leicester* meaning by ingrossing from his partner, to himselfe, the person of the King, and to his followers the best portion of the spoyle, to draw more fruite from this advantage, then it should in fellowship yeeld, dissolved the knot of all their amity.

Thus equall Authority with the same power, is euer fatall (wee see) to all great actions : For to fit mindes to so euen a temper, that they should not haue some motions of dissenting is impossible.

Mountford hauing thus broken all faith with his Confederates, and duty to his Soveraigne, left the path of moderation

to wisdom to come to the King by that of pride and distrust. To him he telleth that his Armes and ends had no other object euer but order of the State, and ease of the people, that hee did not in this, carry affection against duty, but well knew how to reyne his desires, to his just power, and so no lesse to his Maiesties content, if hee would be ruled; which was to commaund the Fortes and Castles of his now opposite *Glocester*, and the rest into his hands. It Was hard to this King thus to take a Law from his inferiour, but necessity in Soueraigne affaires doth often force away all formallity; and therefore this poore Prince, who now at the Victors discretion, seemed to haue beene onely raysed to shew the inconstancy of fortune and vanity of man; suited himselfe with incomparable wisdom, according to the necessity of the time, Neyther did humillity wrong Maiesty, when there was no other meanes to containe spirits so insolent but dissembling. He therefore summoneth in his owne person

son the forts of his faste st friends, to yeeld
 to his greatest enemies. This hee enters
 in shew as his lodging, but in effect his
 Prison, and saw himselfe forced to arme
 against his friends, and to receiue now
 Lawe from him, to whom hee lately
 thought to giue it. Thus *Leicester* is be-
 come a darling of the common rout, who
 easily change to euery new Maister, but
 the best durst not sayle along his Fortune,
 by the light of his glory : Christall that
 fairely glistereth doth easily breake, and as
 the ascent of vsurping royalty is slippery,
 so the top is shaking, and the fall fearefull.
 To hold this man then at the entry of his
 false felicity fully happy, was but to giue
 the name of the Image, to the mettle that
 was not yet molten, for by this the im-
 prisoned Prince was escaped, and fast assu-
 red of *Glocester*, by the knot of his
 great minde, and discontent, and both
 with the torne remainder of the loyall
 Army vnited, and by speedy march ar-
 riued vnlooked for, neere *Euesham*, to the
 vnarmed

vnarmed troupes of the secure Rebels, whom they instantly assayed for it, was no fit season to giue time, when no time did assure so much, as expedition did promise.

Dispencer and other Lords of that faction, made towards the King, with the best speede for mercy, but could not breake out, beeing hurried along the storme of the giddy multitude.

Publicke motions depends on the Conduct of Fortune; private on our owne carriage, we must beware of running downe steepe hills, with weighty bodies, they once in motion, *Suo feruntur pondere*, stoppes are not then voluntary; but *Leicester* at that instant with the King, and out of the storme might haue escaped, if his courage and hope had not made him more resolute by misfortune, so that hee could neyther forsake his followers, nor his ambition; thus making aduersity the exercise of his vertue, hee came, and fell.

The

The King by this blessed fortune freed,
 and obeyed, began to search the ground
 of his former misery, and why that ver-
 tue and fortune that had so long settled
 and maintayned vnder his ancesters the
 glory of his Empire, had cast her in his
 time off, and conspired with her Enemies
 to her almost ruine, as if they Genius of
 the state had quiet forooke her; Here he
 findes his wastfull hand had beene too
 quicke both ouer the fortunes and the
 blessings of his people, the griping Aua-
 rice of his ciuill Ministers and lawlesse li-
 berty of his Martiall followers, the neg-
 lect of grace, and breach of his word, to
 haue lost his nobility at home, and ne-
 cessity, his Reputation abroad, by ma-
 king Merchandize of peace, and warre
 as his last refuge, so leauing his old Allies
 became enforced to betake himselfe to
 persons doubtfull, or iniured, and that
 by giuing ouer himselfe to a sensuall secu-
 rity and referring all to base greedy and
 vnworthy Ministers whose counsell
 f j were

Rot. par. 53.
 H. 3. M. 51.
 Rishangers.

were euer more subtle then substantiall,
he had throwne downe those pillars of
soueraignty, and safety, Reputation a-
broade, and Reuerence at home.

Io. Tuxeter,
Mon. Bury.

Hee now therefore making sweetnesse
and clemency the entrances of his re-
gayned Rule for the faults of most of the
later rebels he forgot a gracious kinde of
pardoning not to take knowledge of of-
fences, others he forgot, that they might
liue but to the glory of his goodnes, for
the fewer killed, the more remaines to a-
dorne the Trophee.

Rot. Cart. 51.
52. H. 3.

Tyrants shed blood for pleasure Kings
for necessity, yet least his Iustice and pow-
er might to much suffer in his grace and
mercy, some few hee punished by small
fines some by banishment, as the two
guiltlesse yet vn pittied sonns of the Arch-
traytor. Treason so hatefull is to the
head, that it draweth (we see in this) the
carriage of the innocent children into an
euerlasting suspect, and what is suspicion
in others is guilt in them: Vpon the con-
stant

Classe 52. H. 3.
M. 29.

stant followers of his broken fortunes he bestoweth, but with a more wary hand then before the forfeiture of his Enemies: Immoderate liberality he had found but a weake meanes to win loue, for it lost more in the gathering then it gained in the giuing. This bounty bestowed without respect, was taken without grace, discredited the receiuer and detracteth from the iudgement of the giuer, and blunted the Appetites of such, as carried their hopes out of vertue and seruice: Thus at last he learned that reward and reprehension iustly layd doe ballance gouernment, and that it much importeth a Prince the hand to bee equall that holdeth the scale. Chro. Dunst.

In himselfe hee reformed his naturall Errors, Princes manners though a mute law haue more of life and vigour then those of letters, and though he did sometimes touch vpon the verge of vice hee forbore euer after to enter the circle.

His court wherein at this time the faults

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of

of great men did not onely by approbation, but Imitation receiue true comfort, and authorrity, for their crimes now became examples, and customes, hee purged very iudiciously and seuerely, since from thence proceeds either the regular or irregular condition of the common state.

*Ordinat. author.
Reg. aule.
claus. 53. H. 3.
Rishanger.*

Expence of house he measureth by the just Rule of his proper reuenew and was heard often to say, that his excesse of wast before had beene an issue of his Subjects blood, the insolency of his Souldiers made lawlesse by the late liberties of Ciuill armes he spendeth in forraigne expedition. Hauing seen that the quiet Spirits vnderwent all the former Calamities, and the other neuer were satisfied but in the misery of Innocents, and would if they had no enemies abroad seeke out at home as they had done before.

*Pat. 53. & 54.
H. 3.
Comment. de
Trailbaston.*

The rigour and corruption of his iudiciall Officers he examineth, and redreseth by strict Commission; For the sence
of

of their feueritie, became a murmure of his owne cruelty.

The seates of Iudgement and Councell he filled up with men nobly borne. For such attract with lesse offence, the generous spirrits to respect and reuerence. Their Abilities he measureth not by fauour or by Priuate Information as before, but by publike voyce for euery man in particular may deceiue and be deceiued, but no man can deceiue all, nor all one.

And to discouer now his owne Capacity and what part he meaneth to beare hereafter in all deliberate Expeditions he sitteth himselfe in Councell daily, and disposeth Affaires of most weight in his owne person. For Councillors be they neuer so wise or worthy are but as accessaries, not principals, in sustentation of the State; their Office must be subjection, not fellowship in considerations of moment, and to haue abillity to aduise, not authority to resolue.

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For

For as to liue the Prince must haue a particular soule so to rule his proper and interne Councell, without the one hee can neuer be truely man, without the other he shall neuer be securely a Prince, for it offendeth aswell the minister (of meritt) as the people to force obedience to one vncapable of his owne greatnesse, or vnworthy of his fortunes. This wonderfull Change to the generall State (so hopelesse lately to recouer her former libertie, they sought now for nothing but the mildest seruitude) brought them home againe with admiration to his devotion and their owne duty.

He that will lay (we see) the foundation of Greatnesse vpon popular loue, must giue them ease and Iustice, for they measure the bond of their obedience, by the good alwayes that they receiue.

Barth. Cron
Chron. Norw.

This peace attended euer after his Age and hearse and hee happily liued to fashion his sonne and successor, and to make him partner of his owne experience and

an.

auchoritie ; whose owne hard education trayning him from that intemperance, which makes men inferiour to beasts : framed him to affect glory, and vertue ; which made him superiour to men. So that all the Actions of his future Raigne were exact grounds of Discipline, and pollicy ; for his best successour to rule by after, who as he was the first of his name since the Conquest, so was he the first that settled the law and state, deserving the Stile of *Englands Iustinian*, and freed this Kingdome from the wardship of the Peeres, shewing himselfe in all his Actions after, capable to Commaund not the Realme onely, but the whole world.

Thus doe the wrongs of our Enemies more then our owne discretions, make vs sometimes both wise and fortunate.

FINIS.